

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4432

INFO USDEL JEC PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SAIGON 3864

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, VS

SUBJECT: REPORT SUBMITTED BY UPPER HOUSE MEMBERS TO SENATE CHAIRMAN
LAM

1. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF REPORT ENTITLED "THE STATE OF THE NATION" SUBMITTED BY THIRTY-EIGHT PRO-GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION SENATORS TO CHAIRMAN TRAN VAN LAM ON MARCH 28.

2. BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN,
FOLLOWING THE RECENT MILITARY EVENTS AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLES 101 AND 223 OF THE SENATE STATUTES, WE, THE UNDERSIGNED SENATORS, REQUEST THAT YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN, RECORD ON THE AGENDA A CALL FOR AN UNUSUAL AND EMERGENCY SESSION IN ORDER TO DISCUSS: "THE STATE OF THE NATION."

ATTACHED IS A REPORT WITH CONCLUSIONS

THE BRIEFING TEAM:

SENATOR TON THAT DINH
SENATOR TRAN QUANG THUAN
SENATOR LE CHAU LOC
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SENATOR HOANG XUAN HAO

SINCERELY YOURS, TON THAT DINH, TRAN QUANG THUAN, Y-BLING-BUON-KRONG-PANG, LE CHAU LOC, TON THAT NIEM, LA THANH NGHE, VU VAN MAU, TON AI LIENG, PHAM DINH AI, BUI TUONG HUAN, TRAN DUY DON, HOANG XUAN HAO, TRAN TAN TOAN, PHAM VAN BA, DOAN VAN LUONG, LAM VAN HIEP, NGUYEN VAN KIH, NGUYEN DUC QUY, TRUONG TIEN DAT, NGO VAN NHAM, PHAM NHU PHIEU, NGUYEN VAN AN, DOAN VAN CUU, PHAM NAM TRUONG, DAO HUU PHAN, LE VINH KIEN, TRAN VAN QUA, NGUYEN VAN NHUE, NGUYEN VAN DIEU, SON THAI NGUYEN, NGUYEN QUOI, KSOR ROT, NGUYEN KHOA PHUOC, KHIEU THIEN KE, KIM KHANH, NGUYEN DUC TRANG, NGUYEN VAN THO, YA BA.

"BRIEFING ON THE STATE OF THE NATION

MR. CHAIRMAN,

SENATORS,

FOR OVER TWO WEEKS THE PEOPLE OF SVN HAVE LIVED IN A NIGHTMARE. THE COMMUNIST ARMY HAS ATTACKED FURIOUSLY AND OCCUPIED DARLAC. ONE WEEK LATER THE MR II MILITARY HEAD-QUARTERS WAS MOVED TO NHA TRANG. THE GOVERNMENT THEN ORDERED THAT THE TWO PROVINCES OF PLEIKU AND KONTUM BE EVACUATED. FINALLY, QUANG DUC, PHU BON AND QUANG TRI WERE ALSO EVACUATED IN ORDER TO REDEPLOY OUR FORCES.

NONE OF THE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS MENTIONED ABOVE WERE ANNOUNCED TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THEY OCCURRED UNEXPECTEDLY WHICH PROVED THAT THERE WAS LACK OF PREPARATION ON THE PART OF THE RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES AND CREATED A CHAIN REACTION OF ANGER AND PANIC THAT SWEEPED THROUGH THE ENTIRE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN POPULATIONS.

THIS SERIOUS SITUATION IS REALLY ONLY A HIGHPOINT IN THE WAR THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON SINCE RIGHT AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT IN JANUARY, 1973.

INDEED, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM BELIEVED THAT THIS AGREEMENT WOULD ALLOW THEM TO ENJOY PEACE IN ORDER TO RECONSTRUCT THE COUNTRY AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF WAR. BUT UNFORTUNATELY THE SHOOTING AND KILLING CONTINUED WITH THE RESULT THAT UP TO NOW THERE HAVE BEEN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CASUALTIES. THE IN-CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURE SITUATION WHICH FOLLOWED ON THE HEELS OF THE SOCIAL/ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY HAS CAUSED THE PEOPLE TO LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY LOATHE AND FEAR THE COMMUNISTS.

THE GLOOMY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY EMANATES FROM DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL CAUSES.

THE EXTERNAL CAUSE IS THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE SYSTEMATICALLY VIOLATED THE ENTIRE PARIS AGREEMENT AND THE

US IS NOT KEEPING ITS PROMISE TO THE RVN. THERE IS ALSO THE IMPOTENCE OF THE ICCS AS WELL AS THE PASSIVE ATTITUDE OF THE SIGNATORIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT OF PEACE IN VIETNAM.

THE INTERNAL CAUSE IS NO LESS IMPORTANT. THE LACK OF IDEAS FROM THE NATIONALIST AND PUBLIC PERSONALITIES IN THE DIRECTION AND MANNER OF LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS IN ADMINISTERING NATIONAL POLICY HAS LED TO THE CURRENT MISERABLE SITUATION.

BECAUSE THE IDEAS OF THE NATIONALIST AND PUBLIC PERSONALITIES ARE LACKING, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT SOUGHT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE (OF VARIOUS POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND PROFESSIONAL TENDENCIES) IN THE TASK OF DETERMINING POLICY. THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT CARE ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS OF EITHER THE OPPOSITION OR THE PRO-GOVERNMENT ELEMENTS.

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THE EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION OF POWER HAS CAUSED THE GOVERNMENT TO BECOME COMPLETELY PARALYSED. IT IS LACKING IN IMAGINATION AND SHUNS ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. THE PARALYSIS HAS ALSO SPREAD TO THE VARIOUS CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, SUPREME COURT AND THE INSPECTORATE, ETC. . . . CAUSING THESE INSTITUTIONS TO NOT FULFILL THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE.

BECAUSE THE IDEAS OF THE NATIONALIST AND PUBLIC PERSONALITIES ARE LACKING, THE PLANS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE OFTEN OF A FRAGMENTED NATURE AND PATCHED TOGETHER AS DE-

SURED WITH UNSATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS. IT IS EASY TO SEE THAT THE PRINCIPAL VICTIMS OF THIS ARE THE PEOPLE WHO ARE VIEWED AS EXPERIMENTAL GUINEA PIGS. THE RELIANCE ON FOREIGN AID AND THE INABILITY TO MAKE ADEQUATE ADVANCE PREPARATIONS FOR ITS REDUCTION IS DUE TO LAZINESS AND HAS DAMAGED THE PRESTIGE AND HARMED THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION.

BECAUSE THE IDEAS OF THE NATIONALISTS AND PUBLIC PERSONALITIES ARE LACKING, THE MEASURES APPLIED IN EVERY SECTOR LOOK GOOD IN THEORY BUT WHEN ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT, ARE ONLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE WEALTHY AND POWERFUL MINORITY.

THIS MINORITY IS INTERCONNECTED ON THE BASIS OF PERSONAL INTEREST AND HAS CREATED THREE PARALLELED SYSTEMS OF CORRUPTION: TWO SYSTEMS OF CORRUPTION RUN FROM TOP TO BOTTOM IN THE ADMINISTRATION AND MILITARY FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCE PEDDLING (SELLING OFFICIAL POSITIONS) THIS MAKES THE PEOPLE MISERABLE AND DISCOURAGES THOSE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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GOOD WILL. THE THIRD GIGANTIC SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION IS IN THE NATIONAL CORPORATIONS WHICH ROB NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR PERSONAL AND GROUP PROFIT.

THIS MINORITY HAS COVERED UP THE TRUTH. IT WANTS TO MONOPOLIZE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND GAIN A MONOPOLY ON PATRIOTISM BUT IT IS LACKING IN IMAGINATION, ABILITY AND VIRTUE. THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE THE ADMINISTRATIVE POWER, THE RULING AUTHORITY RESTS ENTIRELY WITH THE POLICE APPARATUS. THEREFORE, THE VOICES WHICH SYMBOLIZE THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE MASSES AND ARE EMANATION FROM THE PEOPLES' GROUPS AND THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF EVERY PERSUASION HAVE NOT AND ARE NOT BEING HEARD OR ARE BEING SMOTHERED. MANY MEASURES THAT ARE DISCOURAGING TO THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED; ARREST AND DETENTION HAVE BEEN ABUSED, PRESS CONFISCATION AND PROSECUTION HAVE BEEN DISORDERLY, NEWSPAPERS ARE CLOSED ILLEGALLY, AND THE GENERAL MOBILIZATION LAW HAS BEEN APPLIED TOO BROADLY WITH THE RESULT THAT CARRYING OUT ONE'S MILITARY OBLIGATION HAS BECOME A POLITICAL CONSIDERATION. THE RESULT IS THAT VOLUNTARY MANPOWER HAS BEEN WASTED AND REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS ARE NOT ADMINISTERED FAIRLY IN EITHER THE ARMY OR THE ADMINISTRATION.

THE DIRECTION TAKEN TO SETTLE THE WAR PRIOR TO AND SINCE THE PARIS AGREEMENT HAS NOT CHANGED AND IS INAPPROPRIATE IN LIGHT OF THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION. THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO PLACE A HEAVY EMPHASIS ON A PURELY MILITARY SOLUTION AND DOES NOT CARE ABOUT THE PEOPLE, WHO REPRESENT A DECISIVE FACTOR IN THIS WAR. THIS HAS PRODUCED TWO SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS:

- IT HAS NOT MOBILIZED THE POTENTIAL OF THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE IN THE SELF-DEFENSE EFFORT.

- IT HAS NOT PREPARED FOR AND NOT MOBILIZED POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE OR DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION.

THE MILITARY IS A CRITICAL SECTOR. THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED BECAUSE AFTER THE PARIS AGREEMENT IT WAS TOO SUBJECTIVE WHEN THE WAR QUIETED DOWN AND PANICKED WHEN IT ESCALATED.

SADDER YET IS THE FACT THAT THE SOLDIERS BEARING CONFIDENTIAL

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ARMS TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY WERE AMONG THOSE WHO HAD TO BEAR THIS INJUSTICE.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

SENATORS,

WE HAVE JUST PRESENTED THE MAIN REASONS FOR THE CURRENT GLOOMY SITUATION. BUT WE AFFIRM THAT GLOOMY IS NOT DESPERATE. CONVERSELY, WE HAVE MUCH ACCURATE DATA AND MANY SOLID REASONS TO FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT WE STILL HAVE PLENTY OF HOPE IN A BRIGHT FUTURE FOR A FREE, DEMOCRATIC AND POWERFUL SOUTH VIETNAM.

1. AN OBVIOUS FACT THAT NO ONE CAN DENY IS THAT THE PEOPLE OF SVN HATE THE COMMUNISTS. THAT ANTI-COMMUNIST SENTIMENT WAS DISPLAYED IN THE MOST RECENT MASSIVE EXODUS AS WELL AS IN THE BATTLES OF 1968 AND 1972. THE FREE AND PEACEFUL NATURE OF THE PEOPLE OF SVN IS ENTIRELY ANATHEMA TO THE INHUMANE TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP OF THE COMMUNISTS.

2. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE HAD TO ABANDON THEIR FORTE WHICH WAS A PEOPLE'S WAR BECAUSE AFTER TRYING FOR 15 YEARS THEY STILL COULD NOT SUBJUGATE SVN. THEY ARE NOW USING TERRITORIAL WAR, A STRATEGY WHICH IS NOT THEIR STRONG POINT. THEREFORE, THE MYSTIQUE OF A "PEOPLE'S WAR" HAS BEEN EXPOSED AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION NOW VIEWS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY AS AN EXPEDITIONARY AND AGGRESSIVE ARMY AND THERFORE UNJUST.

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3. IN EVERY PLACE AND IN EVERY SPHERE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ACTIVITY IN SVN THERE ARE STILL VERY MANY TALENTED AND VIRTUOUS PATRIOTS WHO UNTIL NOW HAVE NOT HAD AN ENVIRONMENT CONDUCTIVE TO ACTION. WE HAVE THE OBLIGATION TO PRAISE OUR SOLDIERS, CADRE AND CIVILIANS WHO BELONG TO THIS RESPECTABLE GROUP AND ARE SERVING THE NATION UNDER LESS THAN SATISFACTORY CONDITIONS.

4. THE NATION'S HISTORY PROVES THAT OUR PEOPLE HAVE FOUND THE STRENGTH TO SEEK A WAY OUT OF THE MARASS DURING THE DARKEST MOMENTS OF HISTORY. THEREFORE, WE AFFIRM THAT THE CURRENT DIFFICULT STRUGGLE WILL HAVE THE EFFECT OF STIMULATING THE PEOPLE'S CONSCIENCE AND HELP THOSE WITH SINCERE GOOD WILL TO JOIN WITH EACH OTHER AND DISPLAY THE DETERMINATION TO RESIST THE DANGER WHICH IS ALL TOO CLEAR. THIS PROPOSAL, WITH THE SUPPORT OF A MAJORITY OF THE SENATE, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL INCLINATION, IS THE clearest sign of the spirit of national union in a moment of danger for the nation.

5. ABUNDANT NATURAL RESOURCES ALONG WITH THE SKILL, INDUSTRY AND PATIENCE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL HELP PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PROGRESS RAPIDLY ALONG THE ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

ALL OF THE FIVE REASONS ABOVE ARE VIEWED AS A WORD OF WARNING TO THE COMMUNISTS NOT TO HOPE FOR AN ULTIMATE
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MILITARY VICTORY; THE MILITARY ADVENTURES OF THE COMMUNISTS COULD LEAD TO GENOCIDE. BECAUSE BOTH SIDES HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE, WE CALL UPON THE COMMUNISTS TO AGREE WITH US TO STRUGGLE POLITICALLY IN-

STEAD ON MILITARILY WHICH ALL OF THE PEOPLE DETEST.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

SENATORS,

WE HAVE JUST OUTLINED A HOPE FOR A BRIGHT FUTURE.
BUT THE CRITICAL QUESTION IS WHAT CAN BE DONE TO TURN
THIS HOPE INTO REALITY?

WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY MANY
TIMES BUT NEVER HAS THE SITUATION BEEN AS GLOOMY AS IT IS
NOW. MAINLY BECAUSE OF THAT REALIZATION, THIS IS THE FIRST
TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SECOND
REPUBLIC THAT WE HAVE NOT MADE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE
OPPOSITION AND PRO-GOVERNMENT ELEMENTS AS WE PUT OUR NAMES
TO THIS PROPOSAL. AND THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN THE
SENATE THAT A PROPOSAL HAS HAD AS MANY AS 43 SIGNATURES
OR TWO-THIRDS OF THE SENATE.

WE HAVE STRIVEN TO RISE ABOVE EMOTION AND ALL FORMS
OF PARTISANSHIP. BECAUSE OF THE SUPREME INTEREST OF THE
FATHERLAND AND THE PEOPLE, WE HAVE PRESENTED AN OBJECTIVE
PICTURE OF THE DANGEROUS STATE OF THE COUNTRY. FROM HERE,
WE RESPECTFULLY BRING FORTH A NUMBER OF GENERAL PROPOSALS
FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION IN ORDER TO MOVE TOWARD CONCRETE
SENATE RESOLUTIONS.

1. THE PEOPLE'S THIRST FOR PEACE MUST BE RESPECTED.
THE MILITARY ATTACKS OF THE COMMUNISTS CANNOT BE ACCEPTED
BECAUSE THEY ARE CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE PARIS AGREE-
MENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973.

2. THERE MUST BE A WAY TO END THE WAR AND BRING
ABOUT A STYLE OF LEADERSHIP THAT HAS FREEDOM AND SOCIAL
JUSTICE AS ITS OBJECTIVE. HONESTY AND PERSEVERANCE BECOME
THE MOTTO FOR ACTION AND THE PEOPLE BECOME THE OBJECT OF
EVERY GOVERNMENT POLICY.

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3. THERE IS A NEED FOR A UNIFIED AND EFFECTIVE
GOVERNMENT THAT ASSEMBLES THE CAPABLE AND HONEST ELEMENTS
THAT HAVE GOOD WILL.

4. THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE ADEQUATE ABILITY TO ACT
WITH AMPLE AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SPIRIT OF
THE CONSTITUTION OF 1967. AT THE SAME TIME, IT HAS THE
RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE NATIONAL ASSEM-
BLY AND THE VARIOUS PEOPLES' GROUPS TO PROTECT THE
SUPREME INTERESTS OF THE NATION AND THE PEOPLE AND
STABILIZE THE MILITARY, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION

ON AN URGENT BASIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

SENATORS,

IT HAS BEEN AN HONOR FOR US TO HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO BRIEF YOU ON THE SAD STATE OF THE COUNTRY. WE BELIEVE THAT PERHAPS THE SADNESS WILL BE SHARED BY ALL OF OUR COLLEAGUES REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL INCLINATION.

WE HOPE THAT TODAY'S TEAM WORK ON A POLITICAL AGREEMENT WILL OPEN THE WAY FOR THE WORK THAT FOLLOWS. WE HOPE THAT WORK THAT IS PROFITABLE TO THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE WILL SPREAD FROM THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE PEOPLES' GROUPS IN ORDER TO CREATE A STRONG NATIONAL UNION.

NATIONAL UNION DURING THE MOMENT OF DANGER TO THE FATHERLAND IS THE CONDITION FOR THE SURVIVAL OF SVN. ALL OBSTACLES HAVE TO BE OVERCOME SO THAT EVERY PERSON WILL HAVE THE CONFIDENCE, ENTHUSIASM AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SALVATION OF THE COUNTRY.

IN THAT HOPE, BEFORE CONCLUDING OUR REPORT, WE RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT ALL OF YOU STAND FOR A MOMENT OF SILENCE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SOLDIERS AND COMPATRIOTS WHO SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES IN THIS WAR. WE EXPRESS OUR GRATITUDE TO THE RVNAF, EXTEND COMPASSION TO THE REFUGEES AND EARNESTLY APPEAL TO ALL OF THE PEOPLE'S GROUPS, OTHER NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL CHARITABLE AND HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO POSITIVELY SUPPORT THE RELIEF EFFORT.

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OUR SINCERE THANKS TO THE CHAIRMAN AND THE SENATORS.

SAIGON, MARCH 27, 1975

THE BRIEFING TEAM END TEXT.

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